34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the wea declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This
[829] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on
[226] fish much more than the Jivaro, and to the *tsantsa* which are
[251] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are
[727] brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-
624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role,
726 beyond the usual *uunt*. There may be two war chiefs if the
[554] neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

• [703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigor-
[789] ous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men
703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound
602 to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
628 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
726 relatives "cover" one another from ambushation by another expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jivaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.